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A COMPLEAT  
HISTORY  
OF  
*French* Invasions,  
FROM THE  
REVOLUTION  
TO THE  
PRESENT TIME.

CONTAINING

A Particular Account of the Intended Descent in 1690, after the Battel of *Beachy Head*. The Design of Transporting a *French* Army hither in 1692, which was prevented by the Defeat at *La Hogue*. The Project of Supporting the Assassination - Plot by the Embarkation of *French* Troops at *Calais* in 1696. The Invasion in *Scotland* in 1708: And the private Assistance given to the late Unnatural Rebellion.

Collected from Manuscript as well as Printed Authorities.


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A S H O R T  
H I S T O R Y  
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F R E N C H I N V A S I O N S .

T is a Point universally agreed, by such as are well acquainted with the History of Christendom for the two last Centuries, that the Policy of all *Europe* has been, in a great measure, regulated by that of *France*. *Lewis XIV.* was either himself a great Politician, or was wise enough to take the Advice of such as were so; and finding his Country rich, as having never been harras'd with Taxes, his Protestant Subjects very industrious, and much addicted to Commerce, he set up for a kind of Universal Monarchy, and sometimes endeavour'd to sooth, at others

to force his Neighbours into an abject Compliance with his Measures.

He employed both ways, at different times, with our King *Charles II.* for tho' many have imagined that the first *Dutch War* was a Scheme concerted between the two Kings, yet in this they were certainly mistaken; for so far was *Lewis XIV.* from acting coolly in favour of the *Dutch*, that he actually enter'd into a Scheme with them for landing a considerable Force here, under the Command of General *Ludlow*, Colonel *Sidney*, and others of the Parliamentary Party, and carried the Negotiation for this purpose so far, as to offer *Ludlow* Letters of safe Conduct if he would have gone to *Paris*. But afterwards, and especially when he had bestowed a *French* Mistress upon King *Charles*, he came to have a better Understanding with our Ministry, which produced such a Concurrence with the Designs of *France*, as justly alarm'd the Nation, and offended all *Europe*.

The Assistance given by King *Charles* to the most Christian King, enabled him to become suddenly, before King *Charles* himself was well aware of it, a Maritime Power. It was with this View that a *French* Squadron was sent to serve in our Fleet during the last *Dutch War*, where, as Prince *Rupert* asserts in his Account of  
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the Engagement, most of the *French* Commanders look'd on, as if they came to see rather than share in the Fight; and one Officer, who scorned so dishonourable a Behaviour, and did the *English* good Service, fell not only under the Displeasure of his Admiral, but upon his Return home was disgraced at Court; which evidently shewed, that *Lewis* XIV. sent his Officers not with any view to hazard his Ships, or their Persons, but that they might instruct themselves, at the Expence of the *English* and *Dutch*, in the Art of Fighting at Sea; an Art which he knew could be learned only by Experience, and yet he did not care they should gain Experience at his or their own Cost.

By the subsequent Ill-conduct of this King and his Brother, by their favouring the Popish Religion, which, besides other bad Ingredients, was also the Religion of *France*; by pursuing arbitrary Measures, which every body knew was by the Advice and Encouragement of *France*; and by sacrificing to the Haughtiness and Ambition of that all-grasping Power the Interest of our Natural Allies and best Neighbours, these infatuated Princes lost the Confidence of their Subjects at home, and soon after their Credit and Influence abroad, to such a degree, that the former waited only a happy Opportunity of  
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throwing off a Yoke which they found intolerable, and the latter wished well to any Enterprize of that kind, because while an *English* Administration abetted *French* Schemes, the Liberty of *Europe* was in the utmost Danger. Our Weight was not only taken out of the Scale, where it ought to have lain, but was thrown into the other, where our Interest, duly considered, it actually weighed against our selves; and therefore it was no wonder that at home and abroad the ablest Heads were contriving how to amend so great, so fatal an Error.

The Revolution, which happen'd in the latter end of the Year 1688, brought this about effectually. It sent King *James* to be a Pensioner at that Court, for which, during his whole Reign, he had been no better than a Vice-Roy. It placed *William*, Prince of *Orange*, in his Stead, who was the capital Enemy of *France*, and at the same time one of the wisest Politicians, and, [if I might be allowed the Expression, I would say one of the best Patriots in *Europe*. His Invasion of this Island was a thing not only well concerted in *Holland*, but so generally welcome here, where the Constitution was dissolved in Church and State, that there is nothing at all strange in its succeeding; the Army sided with their Country immediately, and

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soon after the Fleet did the same, so that the Change in the Government was brought about without Force, though it was countenanced by that Shew of Force which gave People Courage enough to speak their Sentiments, and to restore the old Constitution under which themselves and their Ancestors had been happy.

It is therefore quite beside the purpose to quote the Revolution, as a Proof that foreign Force may make some Impression here, because it is visible that the Impression was made before, and that the Bulk of the Nation was in every respect prepared for the Revolution. This was done, as I have shewn, by the wrong Measures the two last Kings pursued, which had disgusted the far greatest part of their Subjects, and rendered that Force useless which was still in their Power; I mean by this, abundance of their Creatures in great Offices, numbers of People popishly affected, and not a few so contaminated with the Crimes of the Court that nothing but the Power of the Court could protect them. Yet all this signified nothing, the People were inspired with such a Thirst of Liberty, and such a Zeal for Religion, knew so well the Interest and the Probity of the Power that assisted them, I mean the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, and that they ran no manner

manner of Hazard by accepting of their Protection, that they Concerted the Scheme without Fear, and Executed it with amazing Facility. But this never can be the Case in respect to a *French* Invasion. The *French* are Papists, the *French* are Slaves, the *French* are our natural irreconcilable Enemies; and, whatever they effect by an Invasion, must be by downright Force, and with a mighty Effusion of Blood, because it is impossible they ever should have any great Party in this Nation.

In order to be thoroughly convinced of this, and from thence, in this critical Conjunction, to derive that Courage and Conduct, which is so necessary to baffle the Rage of our Enemies, and to support the Cause of our Country, we need only consider the Attempts that have been formerly made by *France*, when she had much greater Advantages than she can now pretend to; and the Inconveniencies under which we labour'd were much more in Number, and in their Nature much greater than any to which we are subject at present. It is certainly a great Pleasure to look back upon past Difficulties, and to survey the Dangers that we have overcome; it naturally cheers our Hearts and enlivens our Spirits, gives us ground to hope, and vanishes that kind of irrational Fear, which



which takes rise from the very Noise of an Enemy's Preparations. If we will but give our selves time to reflect, we shall see that in the Zenith of her Power, *France* was able to do nothing with us in the way of Conquest; and therefore, why should we fear her now when her Maritime Force is much sunk, and our own much stronger than at any other Period of Time.

Immediately after the Revolution took place, a very strong Faction appeared against the Government, occasion'd by the Prejudices of some, and the Disappointments of others. *France*, who never wants Intelligence, was well inform'd of this; King *James* was then in the *French* Court, he had a great Correspondence here, and was certainly able, in case they had landed, to have done them some Service. This was one Advantage; but they had another still more considerable, I mean a Maritime Force equal, if not superior, to our own. We need not wonder therefore that *France*, knowing her own Interest so well, and of what Consequence it would be to regain her Ascendency here, hazarded a great Part of that Force to effect such a Design; neither is it strange, that with these Advantages, she should not be discouraged by small Disappointments, but attempt the same thing over

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and over again, till by degrees she lost the Power of hurting us, the only means by which the Will to do it can be taken from her.

The first great Attempt in this way was in 1690, when King *James* was in Possession of the best Part of *Ireland*, had a great Army there of his own, with a strong body of *French* Auxiliaries; the new Government was scarce settled, the Ministry not formed, the Methods of levying Money little known, the Supplies, that were absolutely necessary, much greater than in former Times, the loading of People with Duties, equivalent to such an Expence, immediately on the Introduction of a new Government, plainly inexpedient: Such were our Difficulties, such were their Encouragements. The *French* King therefore, after having sent over Reinforcements of all sorts to *Ireland*, equipt a grand Fleet, under the Command of Count *Tourville*, consisting of 78 Men of War carrying 4700 Pieces of Cannon, and 22 Fireships, with which they came upon the *English* Coasts, and took some of our Fishing Vessels before we had the least Intelligence of their Design. In this Place, I mean by We, Queen *Mary*, who was then Regent, the Parliament and the Administration; for there were other People in the Nation much better Informed,

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formed, I mean by these, the Male-contents, to whom King *James* had a little before sent a Message with an Account of the Situation his Affairs were in, and with whom he concerted a Scheme of Operations; an Account of which we have laid down by Bishop *Kennet*, in the Third Volume of his *Compleat History of England*; from whence I beg leave to borrow it for the sake of his Authority: His Words are these.

“ It was agreed, says he, that while  
 “ part of the *French* Fleet should bear up  
 “ the *Thames*, the Jacobites in *London*,  
 “ who were grown more bold and nu-  
 “ merous by the flocking of that Party  
 “ from all Parts of the Country thither,  
 “ should have made an Insurrection, and  
 “ have seized the Queen and her chief  
 “ Ministers. Then certain Persons were  
 “ to have taken upon them the Admi-  
 “ nistration of Affairs till the Return of  
 “ King *James*, who was to leave the  
 “ Command of his Army to his Generals,  
 “ and hasten with all Speed into *Eng-*  
 “ *land*; the other Part of the *French*  
 “ Fleet having join’d their Gallies, was  
 “ to have landed 8000 Men at *Torbay*,  
 “ with Arms for a great Number. After  
 “ which, the Gallies and Men of War  
 “ were to sail into the *Irish* Sea, to hin-  
 “ der the Return of King *William* and

“ his Forces, and the discontented *Scotch*  
 “ were to have revolted at the same Time  
 “ in several Parts of that Kingdom.”

The Earl of *Torrington*, who was then Admiral of our Fleet, sail'd from *St. Helens* on the 24th of *June*, and the very same Evening found himself in Sight of the *French*, having with him no more than 34 *English* Men of War and Frigates; and a *Dutch* Fleet of 22 Ships of the Line, Commanded by three Admirals of that Nation; sensible of the Enemy's Superiority, it was his Opinion, and indeed the Opinion of all the Admirals under him, that it was best to avoid Fighting; but the Queen, and her Ministry, believing that nothing could be so dangerous to the Nation's Safety as the *French* Fleets plying to and fro upon the Coasts, sent him down Orders to Fight at all Events, and accordingly on the 30th of *June* he bore down upon the Enemy and forced them to an Engagement.

About eight in the Morning the Signal for Battle was given, and about Nine they began to Engage, when the *Dutch* Squadron, which made the Van of the United Fleets, fell in with the Van of the *French*, and put them into some Disorder. About half an Hour after, our Blue Squadron engaged their Rear very warmly, but the Red, Commanded by  
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the Earl of *Torrington* in Person, which made the Centre of the Fleet, could not come up till about Ten; and this occasion'd a great Opening betwixt them and the *Dutch*. The *French*, making use of this Advantage, surrounded the latter, who defended themselves very gallantly, though they suffer'd extreamly from so unequal a Dispute. The Admiral, seeing their Distress, endeavour'd to relieve them, and while they dropt their Anchors (the only Method they had left to preserve themselves) he drove with his own Ship and several others between them and the Enemy, and in that Situation Anchored about Five in the Afternoon, when it grew Calm; but perceiving how much the *Dutch* had suffer'd, and how little Probability there was of gaining any thing by renewing the Fight, he weigh'd about Nine at Night, and retired Eastward with the Tide of Flood.

The next Day it was resolved, in a Council of War held in the Afternoon, to endeavour to preserve the Fleet by retreating, and rather to destroy the disabled Ships, if they should be press'd by the Enemy, than to hazard another Engagement by endeavouring to protect them. This Resolution was Executed with as much Success as could be expected, which however, was chiefly owing to want of  
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Experience in the *French* Admirals, for, by not anchoring when the *English* did, they were drove to a great distance, and by pursuing in a Line of Battle, instead of leaving every Ship at liberty to do her utmost, they could never recover what they lost by their first Mistake. But notwithstanding all this, they continued their Pursuit as far as *Rye Bay*, and forced one of our Men of War of 70 Guns called the *Anne*, which had lost all her Masts, ashore near *Winchelsea*; they sent in two Ships to burn her, which the Captain prevented by setting Fire to her himself. The Body of the *French* Fleet stood in and out of *Bourne* and *Pemsey* in *Sussex*, while about 14 of their Ships anchored near the Shore. Some of these attempted to burn a *Dutch* Ship of 64 Guns which at low Water lay dry, but her Commander defended her so briskly every high Water, that they were forced to desist, and the Captain carried her safe into *Holland*. Our Loss was not so great as might have been expected; we had one Ship burnt, and another sunk, but the *Dutch* lost six Ships of the Line.

This was the greatest Advantage the *French* ever gained at Sea; and now, if ever, they might have made a Descent with some Probability of Success; and yet, except burning the Village of *Tinmouth*,

mouth, and three Fishing-Vessels that were at Anchor there, they did nothing, notwithstanding the Nation was in the utmost Confusion, and our Fleet retired into the River of *Thames*: The Reason of this was, that *Queen Mary* had caused the Heads of the Jacobite Faction to be early apprehended, shewed the greatest Fortitude her self, and relied entirely upon the Affections of her Subjects; and how wise her Conduct was in this Respect may appear from the uncommon Zeal that was shewn for the Support of her Government by all Ranks and Degrees of People. The City of *London* not only raised their Militia, which consisted of 9000 Men, but offered to add to these six Auxillary Regiments of Foot, a Regiment of Horse, and two of Dragoons, which they proposed to maintain at their own Expence so long as the *Queen* should think it necessary. The Tinnors in *Cornwall* offered to rise and form themselves into Regiments, and some Proposals of the same kind were made by several other Counties; but her Majesty contented her self with giving them her hearty Thanks for these Instances of their Duty and Loyalty, but did not think fit to put them to so great an Expence. In the mean time, the *French* Fleet seeing all things quiet, and no body stir in their Favour, and having  
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when they first landed received a remarkable Instance of the Courage and Resolution of the Country People, though not supported by regular Troops, thought proper to retire, after having disturbed us for some Weeks.

This was the Issue of so formidable an Affair, when the *French*, in Imagination, had already effected their Design, and their Ministers in all foreign Courts had published it as a thing certain, that in Consequence of their beating the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets, King *James* would be infallibly restored to his Kingdoms. Indeed this was the fairest Chance he ever had for it; for, as we shall see hereafter, though the *French* formed numberless Schemes of invading us, they never had it in their Power to execute one, but were always prevented by our going in Search of them upon their own Coasts, and destroying their Embarkations before they were able to make use of them. As to this very Instance, it was not so much owing to their Courage and Conduct that they had these Advantages, as to our Divisions and want of Strength; for, as I before observed, the Government was not thoroughly settled, King *James* had really a great Party here, and Money was with such difficulty raised, that we had but a very small Fleet at Sea, and that small Fleet



Fleet was indifferently manned, and poorly provided with every other Necessary; so that, on the whole, this did us more Service than the *French*, by frightening us into making proper Provision for our own Security.

The Affairs of King *James* in *Ireland*, which wore a very promising Aspect till the Arrival there of *French* Troops, began soon after to decline, and for no other Reason at the bottom than that he was assisted by the *French*; which is a Point that deserves a little Explanation, since at first Sight one wou'd imagine, that if *French* Assistance could have proved effectual in any one of the three Kingdoms, it must have been in *Ireland*, where the Majority of the People are Papists, as well as the *French*; where they have a great Commerce with, and much Kindness for the *French*, and where it was and is a Custom, among the best Families in the Island, to send their Sons over to *France* in order to their Education. Yet the Fact fell out as I have laid it down, and the additional Forces which were brought over to preserve the single Kingdom that King *James* had left, proved the Cause of his losing it. The *French* and *Irish* Officers, in the first place, could not agree; the former valued themselves upon their Experience, the latter upon their Loyalty.

The *Irish* obey'd the King but ill, for want of knowing Military Affairs, and from a Pride and Obstinacy natural to them; the *French* scarce obeyed him at all, for they came to do their Master's Business, and if that was performed they did not make themselves at all uneasy, if his was left undone. These Disputes, as they weaken'd King *James's* Interest, so they gave great Advantages to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, who were well supported from *England*; whereas King *James* was so pitifully supplied from *France*, that he was obliged to Coin Brass-Money, and thereby perpetuate the Memory of his Necessities to all Posterity.

But the great, the essential Cause of his Ruin, was the underhand Treachery of his faithless Ally, who privately encouraged the *Irish* Nobility to put their Country intirely into the Hands of *France*, so as to become Dependent upon that Kingdom instead of *Great Britain*; a Proposal so black, that no Language is foul enough to represent it in its proper Light. This dark Scheme divided the *Irish* Papists into two great Parties; one who were for giving up all to *Lewis XIV.* and the other who adhered to the late King *James*. The Bravery and Conduct of King *William* at the Battle of *Boyne* decided the Fate of both Parties; and though there was

was some Stand made by the *French* at *Limerick*, yet it was such a Stand as fully discovered their Project, and broke old *Tyrconnel's* Heart, who now saw, too late, that he had been the great Instrument of his Master's Ruin.

By this Sample we may judge of the true Intent and Meaning of *French* Assistance, and discover, if we are not blind, that whatever Pretences are made use of to delude and deceive us, the sole Design of *France* is always to enslave us, and to make a Province of this Island to that overgrown ambitious Power: A Design which sure no *English* Subject can hear of with Patience, much less form a Thought of Assisting, or not Resisting it to the utmost of his Power. This Virtue has hitherto defended us against the Force and Fraud of *France*, and will always defend us, while we breathe that Spirit of Freedom, that Love to our Country, that Aversion to all Foreign Power, and more especially *French* Power, with which Nature and the Example of our Ancestors inspires us. But to return to my Subject, and to pursue the History of *French* Attempts to invade *Great Britain*, under Colour of assisting King *James* and his Family, which I have shewn to be but a Colour to further their Scheme of making an Absolute Conquest.

The *French* King was too wise a Prince not to discern, that King *William's* quiet Possession of this Throne would in the Event Ruin all his Schemes, and secure the Independency of *Europe*, and therefore it may well be supposed that he repented his wrong Management in *Ireland*, which had taken so much Strength from his best Ally, and added it to the most formidable of his Foes. In order to set right this Mistake, and to make the best use possible of his own great Power, and the Remains of King *James's* Force, he resolved to comply with a Proposal made him by that Prince for invading *England* in the Year 1692. The Scheme was plausible at least, if not profound. King *William* was obliged to be at the Head of his Army in *Flanders*; a considerable Body of Troops were still necessary in *Ireland*; there were some Disputes, as there always will be, in *England*; and King *James's* Party in *Scotland* was not totally subdued. It was therefore proposed, that in the first place an Army should be drawn together on the *French* Coasts, with a Fleet of Transports sufficient to Embark them; that then the *French* Squadrons from *Toulon* and *Brest* should put to Sea, in order to draw the *English* and *Dutch* Fleet from our Coasts, and thereby enable King *James*, with the Army before-mentioned,

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to make a Descent, while his Partizans in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, should rise at once in order to distract and divide the Forces of the Government.

This Scheme, once settled was immediately put in Execution; fourteen Battalions of *English* and *Irish* Troops were drawn towards the Coast of *Normandy*, where they were soon after joined by about 9000 *French*, commanded by Marthal de *Belfondes*, so that in all there could not be less than 20000 Men. The Fleet of Transports consisted of 300 Sail, and were well provided with every thing necessary to the Invasion. In short, nothing was wanting to the Execution of this Design in the beginning of *April*, but the Arrival of Count *d'Estres's* Squadron of 12 Men of War, which was to escort the Embarkation, while the Count de *Tourville* cruized in the Channel with the Grand Fleet, which was also ready to put to Sea, but was detained by contrary Winds. Things being in this Situation, King *James* sent over Colonel *Parker*, and some other Agents of his, to give his Friends Intelligence of his Motions, and some of these People, in hope of Reward, gave the first clear Account of the whole Project to the Government at Home, upon which Order after Order was sent to Admiral *Russel* to hasten out to Sea.

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The Queen on this, as on the former Occasion, acted with all the Spirit and Prudence imaginable; for, without discovering any Apprehension of Danger, she took all the Precautions that were necessary to prevent it, by publishing a Proclamation, requiring all Papists to quit *London* and *Westminster*; another for assembling both Houses of Parliament, and a third for apprehending the Earls of *Scarsdale*, *Litchfield*, *Newbourg*, *Middleton*, and *Dunmore*, the Lords *Griffin* and *Forbes*, Sir *John Fenwick*, Sir *Andrew Forrester*, and several other Persons of Distinction, supposed to be in her Father's Interest. By this means she disconcerted all the Designs of Domestick Enemies, and prevented those Diversions upon which *Lewis XIV.* chiefly depended; for as there were but a small Number of Regular Troops in the Kingdom, so if these could have been drawn different ways, and the Intention of the Government distracted by variety of Dangers, the landing even of the *English* and *Irish* Troops might have sufficiently answered his Purpose, which was probably no more than throwing this Island into a Civil War, while he at his leisure carried on his Scheme for raising a Universal Monarchy upon the Continent.

Before I proceed further, it will be necessary to take Notice of one piece of  
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*French* Artifice, which was very successfully practiced then, and which, upon such Occasions, *France* for that Reason has never failed to practice since. She gave out that most of the Officers of the Fleet were disaffected to King *William* and Queen *Mary's* Government, that particularly Rear Admiral *Carter* had been bribed by a Present of 10000*l.* to come over to the *French* with the Squadron under his Command, and hinted at other secret Influences which went higher. This was all calculated to weaken and intimidate the Administration, to disturb the Officers in the Performance of their Duty, to sow Sedition in the Fleet, and to deprive us of Unanimity when it was most wanted. This shews the Baseness, Wickedness, and dishonourable Temper of the *French*, who, to serve their own Purposes, care not whom they asperse, or how deeply People are injured by their Aspersions. In this Case they had so great Weight, that when the Fleet was ready to Sail, and at that time the Fate of the Nation depended upon its Sailing, the Earl of *Nottingham*, then Secretary of State, wrote a Letter to Admiral *Russel*, signifying the Reports that were spread to the prejudice of his Officers; upon which a Council of War was called, and an Address drawn up and signed by all the Admirals and  
 Captain

Captains of the Fleet, to which, when it was presented the next Day, that Wise and Excellent Princess, *Queen Mary*, made this short, this prudent Answer. I always had this Opinion of the Commanders, but I am glad this comes to satisfy others.

The *French* had every thing now ready for the Execution of their Design, their Army, their Transports, and their Fleet. The only thing that retarded them was the want of a Wind to bring out Count *d'Estrees*, with a Squadron of 12 large Men of War, which was to Convoy the Transports, while Count *Tourville* with the Grand Fleet held Admiral *Russel* in Play. It was known in *France* that their Fleet was an over Match for the *English* alone; but it was likewise known, that if the latter was joined by the *Dutch* it would thereby acquire a Superiority, and upon this the Orders that were to be sent *Tourville* depended. It was very lucky for us that the *Dutch* were a little slow in joining, upon which the *French* King sent his Orders to Count *Tourville* to fight the *English*, let the Consequence be what it would. King *James's* Party here were very watchful of an Event, upon which the success of all their Schemes depended; and therefore having discovered that a Report, which had been spread of the  
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Junction of the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets was false, they thought it absolutely necessary to dispatch Sir *Adam Blair* to *France*, with an assurance that this News was false, to prevent the *French* King's recalling his Orders. Before Sir *Adam Blair* could get to *Dover*, certain Advice arrived, that the *Dutch* Squadron had actually joined Admiral *Ruffel*, upon which the Jacobites sent Mr. *Clark* Express to *France* with this Piece of Intelligence. It so fell out that *Clark* arrived first, but as his News was very unwelcome, it was not readily believed; and Sir *Adam Blair* coming upon his Heels, and flatly asserting the contrary, Mr. *Clark* was Imprisoned for publishing false Intelligence; but in a few Days the *French* Court was satisfied that he was in the Right, of which they advised their Master, who was then with his Army in *Flanders*, who upon this dispatched Orders several ways to Count *Tourville* to countermand those he had formerly sent him, but to no Purpose, they all arrived too late, and Count *Tourville* having no other Rule by which he could regulate his Conduct than his first Orders, conceived in the strongest Terms, resolved to fight the *English* Fleet as soon as it appeared.

On the 19th of *May* Admiral *Ruffel*, with the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets, being off Cape *Barfleur*, the Scouts about three in the Morning made a Signal of Discovering the Enemy. Orders were immediately given to form a Line, and a Signal was made for the Rear of the Fleet to Tack, that they might engage the sooner. A little after four, the Sun dispersing the Fog, the Admiral caused his Signal for the Rear to Tack to be taken in, and then bore to Leeward in order to give his Ships room to Form. About eight the Confederate Fleet was in good Order, having the *Dutch* Squadron in the Van, the Red in the Centre, and the Blue in the Rear. About ten the *French* Fleet bore down upon them with great Resolution. About half an hour after eleven Count *Tourville*, in the Royal *Sun*, brought to, and began the Fight with Admiral *Ruffel*, being within three Quarters Musket Shot. He plied his Guns very warmly till One, but then began to Tow off in great disorder, his Rigging, Sails, and Topsail Yards being very much wounded. About two the Winds shifted, so that five of the Enemies Blue Squadron posted themselves three a Head, and two a Stern of their Admiral, and fired very briskly till after three. The Admiral and his two Seconds, Mr. *Churchill* and Mr. *Aylmer*, had all these

these Ships to deal with. There was so thick a Fog about Four, that the Enemy could not be seen, and as soon as it clear'd up, the *French* Admiral was discovered Towing away, Northward, upon which the Admiral followed him, and made the Signal for Chasing. While this pass'd between the Admirals, Sir *Cloudsley Shovel* was got to the Windward of Count *Tourville's* Squadron, and engaged them; but the Fog growing darker than before, they were forced to Anchor, and about this time it was that Captain *Hastings* in the *Sandwich* was killed driving through those Ships of the Enemy, by Reason his Anchors were not clear. The Weather clearing up a little, the *French* followed their flying Admiral, and the *English* chased the best they could. About eight in the Evening it grew foggy again, and part of the *English* Blue Squadron having fallen in with the Enemy, engaged about half an Hour, till they, having lost four Ships, bore away for *Conquet* Road. In this short Action Rear-Admiral *Carter* was killed, whose last words effectually confuted the base Reports spread to blemish his Reputation; for finding himself mortally wounded, he recommended it to Captain *Wright*, who commanded his Ship, to fight her as long as she could swim.

The next Day, which was *Friday*, proved so dark and foggy that nothing of any consequence could be done. The *English* however continued the Chace, and on the 22d about Eleven in the Forenoon the *French* Admiral ran ashore, and cut away her Masts, upon which Admiral *Ruffel*, perceiving other Ships coming to her Assistance, ordered Sir *Ralph Delaval* to keep them in the Bay of *La Hogue*, and on the 23d Sir *George Rooke* was order'd in with several Men of War, Fire-ships, and all the Boats in the Fleet, to destroy these Ships in the Bay. On his Entry it was perceived there were 13 Sail, but they were got up so high, that none but the small Frigates could do any Service. Admiral *Rooke* however fully determin'd to execute his Orders, manned all his Boats for that purpose, and went in Person to encourage the Attempt, burning six of them that Night, and the other seven the next Morning, together with a great number of Transport-ships, Tenders, Store-ships, and small Craft; and all this under a prodigious Fire from the Enemy's Batteries on Shore, and in sight of King *James's* Camp, with the Loss of Ten Men only. Such was the glorious Victory at *La Hogue*, by which the *French* Power at Sea was intirely broken, and they were able to do nothing in that Reign by  
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their Fleets, but contented themselves with acting as Privateers.

This fatal and unexpected Blow confounded the Politicks of the *French* Ministry, broke the Spirits of the Malecontents here at home, and gave such Life to the Allies, as contributed not a little to the Success of the ensuing Campaign. I might alledge, in Proof of this, the mean and pitiful Letter written by King *James II.* to his Protector *Lewis XIV.* in which he throws the Blame upon his own Ill-fortune, and talks in a Style not only below the Majesty of a King, but unbecoming the Faith and Fortitude of a Christian; proposing, at the close of it, to separate his Fortunes from those of the *French* King, that his former glorious Successes might attend him; a Strain of Flattery so gross, that I cannot conceive how he was able to form such Notions in his Head; or when he had form'd them, how he could stoop to the servile Task of putting them in Writing to compliment a vain ambitious Prince, whose Vices had been so fatal to *Europe* in general, and so ruinous to himself and his Family in particular. The *French* King, by way of Answer, was so complaisant as to comfort him, and to promise, on his Royal Word, that he would never desert him, which he kept as well as *French* Kings usually

usually keep their Promises, that is, till he had an Opportunity of breaking it for his own Advantage.

It was however remarkable, that for some Years after this the *French* formed no further Projects for Invasions, and very probably they would have intirely drop'd that Method of Proceeding, how much soever they might have been importuned by King *James's* Ministers abroad, or by Messages from the Disaffected here, if it had not been for our Fleets insulting them upon their own Coasts, burning many of their Maritime Towns, and striking such a Terror through all *France*, that it was found absolutely necessary to take some extraordinary Measures, in order to support the sinking Credit of the *French* Arms.

Before we enter upon the History of this new Attempt, it will not be amiss to observe the gradual Declension of the *French* Naval Power. In 1690 they braved us upon our own Coasts, with a superior Fleet. In 1692 Count *Tourville* had the Courage to attack Admiral *Ruffel* with an inferior Force; but in the Years 1693, and 1694, our Fleet not only gave Law to them in the *Mediterranean*, and bombarded *St. Malo's*, *Dieppe*, and *Dunkirk*, but had even returned the Compliment, and attempted several Invasions in different

rent Parts of *France*, which, tho' they did not intirely answer the Ends proposed by them, yet they occasioned great Diversions in *Flanders*, harrassed the *French* Troops excessively, created a prodigious Expence in Fortifications, and demonstrated the Weakness of the Grand Monarch to such a degree, that it was publicly taken notice of in all the *Gazettes* in *Europe*. If therefore our own Divisions and Discontents had not still suggested Hopes to the *French* Ministry, there is no question to be made, that a Peace might have been then concluded upon the most safe and advantageous Terms to the Allies. But such is our Unhappiness, that private Prejudices and party Squabbles, which flow indeed from a noble Cause, the Spirit of Freedom that reigns amongst us, deceives Foreigners into an Opinion, that an Impression may be easily made by landing Troops in this Island, which hitherto however has prov'd, and I hope will everlastingly prove the quickest and surest Method of uniting us, as the only Means of preserving that Liberty of which all Parties are fond, and which no Party can hope will subsist, if any such Attempt should ever take place.

The Jacobites, borrowing Courage from their Despair, and perceiving that from different Motives great Discontents were  
risen

risen in all the three Kingdoms, entered into Combinations for bringing about a General Insurrection; for which purpose various Consultations were held, 'till at last it issued in that wicked and barbarous Design, so well known to the World by the Name of the *Affassination-Plot*, in which, black as it was, abundance of Men of Fortune and Figure were concerned; and as this was some Months in Agitation, they began at last to conceive their Design so well laid, that they sent over a Person to communicate it to the Court of *France*, where, for the Reasons already given, it was at that Juncture better received than it would have been at another time. Some general Promises were immediately made, and some pecuniary Assistance given: Then Agents were sent over from *France* to examine more closely into the Nature of their Design, and the Probability of its succeeding. At last things were so far ripen'd, that the *French* Ministry began to have as great Hopes abroad, as the Conspirators had at home; and, to encourage them to proceed with the utmost Vigour, they were assured that they should not want any Assistance that it was in the Power of the *French* King to give them; as a Proof of which, Measures were immediately entered into for drawing together



ther a considerable Body of Troops, and a sufficient Number of Transports, to be in Readiness against the time that things became ripe in *England*.

This Project of an Invasion was formed pretty early in the Winter by *Lewis XIV.* and a few Ministers of his Cabinet, by whom the Secret was very well kept; for the first Suspicion that was had here of his Design, arose from his making a grand Promotion of Sea-Officers, and amongst them twenty Captains of Men of War; which look'd as if they did not intend to let their Fleets lie idle, as they had done for two Years past; and what greatly alarmed the Nation was, that we had no considerable Naval Force at home to oppose them. Their greatest Preparations being at *Toulon*, confounded our Politicians not a little; but in the beginning of *January*, 1696, the *French* Scheme began to unfold itself, by the early sending of a large Fleet to *Dunkirk*; for though it was usual for them to send a good Number of Victuallers thither in the Winter, escorted by a small Squadron of Men of War, yet now they trebled the Number. Soon after this, an Army of 20000 Men was brought down to the Sea-Coasts, and 500 Transports, provided with extraordinary Diligence and Secrecy, in order to carry over the greatest

Part of them to *England*, while most of our large Ships were laid up, and the rest either in the *Mediterranean*, or refitting, in order to be sent thither.

The Issue of all these mighty Preparations was, to have Embarked at *Dunkirk* 16000 Men, who were to be commanded by King *James* in Person, and under him the Marquis of *Harcourt*, then Lieutenant-General, and afterwards Marshal of *France*. This Embarkation was to have been escorted by two strong Squadrons, under the Marquis of *Nesmond*, and *John du Bart*; all which might have been Executed if bad Weather, and contrary Winds, had not prevented it. In the mean time, the Duke of *Berwick*, Sir *George Berkley*, and some other experienced Officers, were sent over to dispose the Malecontents here to perform their Part in the Undertaking. But when all Things were supposed to be in perfect Readiness, the whole Scheme was happily discovered; and on the 24th the King came to the House of Commons, and, in a set Speech, informed them of the whole Affair. At the same time Orders were given for assembling, with the utmost Diligence, the greatest Number of Ships possible, and Admiral *Russel*, after having assisted at a Board of Admiralty, where proper Instructions were prepared, went

went down to *Deal*; and, on the 25th of *February*, hoisted the Union-Flag on board the *Victory*, and in a few Days stood over to the Coast of *France*, having under his Command upwards of 50 Ships of the Line, *English* and *Dutch*, at a Time when the *French* believed we could not assemble Ten; which extraordinary Expedition confounded all their Designs, and rendered the Invasion absolutely impracticable, after all the Pains and Expence that had been employ'd about it.

As these Precautions were taken to prevent the Designs of the Enemy, and to put us in a proper State of Defence; so to omit nothing that might encourage and keep up the Spirits of the People, the Government condescended to give the following Account of their Conduct, in the *London Gazette*, to prevent at once all doubt as to the reality of the Danger, and at the same time to shew, that no Pains had been spared to provide against it.

“ By the great Mercy of God a Discovery  
 “ has been made of a most horrid and  
 “ detestable Conspiracy, in which many  
 “ wicked and traiterous Persons were engaged to assassinate his Majesty when  
 “ he went abroad. At the same time,  
 “ a Rising was intended within this Kingdom, and an Invasion from *France*; to  
 “ which end, divers *French* Troops were  
 “ drawn

“ drawn towards *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, and  
 “ Transport-Vessels, and Boats, were got  
 “ together at those Places; of all which,  
 “ his Majesty having received several  
 “ concurring Informations and Advices,  
 “ Orders were given for apprehending the  
 “ Conspirators; many of whom have been  
 “ already seized, and such strict Search  
 “ is made after the rest, that it is hoped  
 “ few, or none of them, will escape the  
 “ Hands of Justice. The Forces in *Eng-*  
 “ *land* are in a readiness to March, and  
 “ a considerable Body of his Majesty’s  
 “ Troops in *Flanders* lie ready to embark  
 “ at *Ostend*. Admiral *Russel* is in the  
 “ *Downs*, with a Squadron of his Maje-  
 “ sty’s Ships, who will be daily reinforced  
 “ by other Men of War, from the River,  
 “ and *Spithead*. And the Care that has  
 “ been taken for the Defence and Safety  
 “ of this Kingdom, will, we doubt not,  
 “ with the Blessing of God, be sufficient  
 “ to disappoint the Designs of our Ene-  
 “ mies.”

The Admiral, on the last Day of *Fe-*  
*bruary*, came to an Anchor before *Grave-*  
*lin*, with part of the Fleet, after having  
 first look’d into *Calais*, where he saw the  
 Harbour crouded with all Sorts of small  
 Vessels, drawn together there, in order to  
 have served for the Embarkation; as to  
 the Men of War that were to have ef-  
 corted



corted it, they took Shelter in *Dunkirk*, where they found themselves perfectly safe, though our Engineers did all that lay in their Power to bring the Bomb-Vessels and Fire-Ships to act against them, but to no Purpose. But, soon after, they bombarded *Calais* for two Days together, where they did a great deal of Mischief, not only to the Town, but to the Ships in the Harbour, many of which were consumed, and most of the rest disabled, so that here ended all Thoughts of an Invasion; and when, to keep up some little degree of Credit, the *Toulon* Squadron received Orders to come about to *Brest*, that there might be an Appearance of a *French* Fleet at Sea, even this did not answer their End, for Sir *George Rooke*, soon after, assembled at *Torbay* a Fleet of 115 Sail, of which, 85 were Men of War of the Line, and thereby constrained both the *Toulon* and *Brest* Squadrons to remain close in the last mentioned Port, where he would actually have Bombarded them, if the Ministry had approved, in time, the Propositions made by him for that Purpose.

The *French* Court was now heartily weary of the War, and with good Reason. It had changed the whole Face of their Affairs, exhausted their Wealth, ruined their  
Armies,

Armies, weakned and destroy'd their Power at Sea, abated their Influence in *Germany*, and, if it had lasted to the Death of the King of *Spain*, had probably disappointed their Views upon that Kingdom; it was therefore high time for them to put an end to it by a Peace upon any Terms, that they might be able to pursue their Schemes by Negotiation, and give their People time to recruit. Upon these Motives *Lewis XIV.* concluded the Treaty of *Ryswick*, which was signed in the beginning of the Month of *October*, and the Ratifications exchanged on the 18th of same Month 1697. By a Clause in this Treaty, the *French* King not only acknowledged his late Majesty King *William III.* as King of *Great Britain, France, and Ireland*; but stipulated also never to Acknowledge, or Assist any other Person in that Quality; which, as it was a direct Breach of the Promise he had made King *James*, so it is certain that he as little intended to perform this Article of the Treaty of *Ryswick*, as he meant to keep that Promise when he made it. Not from any Tendernefs to the late King's Person, or regard to his Family, for he despised him as a Bigot, though he was as great a one himself; and as for his Family, he never paid them any more regard than was requisite to serve his own Purposes, as all who remember

member the Court of *St. Germain's*, and the miserable Condition of those who compos'd it, must allow. If King *William* had insisted upon it, he would even have turned King *James* out of *France*, as he had done once before when he was Duke of *York*; but King *William* was a Prince of too much Humanity to desire it.

The Jacobites were excessively enraged at this Behaviour, and published several scurrilous Libels upon his most Christian Majesty, for his Behaviour in a Point which affected them so much; happy had it been for them, if they had always preserved this Spirit of Indignation, and resolved never more to disturb their native Country, by becoming Dupes again to that treacherous and faithless Prince. But so infatuated were they, that when upon the Death of King *James*, old *Lewis* thought fit to acknowledge the Person who had been called Prince of *Wales*, in direct Breach of the Treaty of Peace before mentioned, they forgot their Resentments, and flattered themselves with new Hopes, altogether as false and foolish as the former.

But the wildest and weakest thing that perhaps the *French* King ever did, was to pretend to justify this by a mean and scandalous Equivocation; for, in truth, it does not deserve the Name of a Distinction

tion, as the Reader will allow when I tell him, that *Lewis XIV.* insisted this was no Breach of the Treaty of *Ryswick*, because he only gave him the Title of King of *England*, and did not assist him to disturb the Possessor. How low and pitiful a Pretence, how inconsistent with the Dignity of a crown'd Head, how unbecoming the Character of an honest Man! But this is the Fate of the Great, as well as the Little, that when they do black, or base things, they render them both blacker and baser by endeavouring to justify them, as if it was possible to impose upon the common Sense of Mankind by sophistical Arguments, with the same Ease that by Dint of superior Force they trample upon their Liberties and Properties. This flagrant Act of Injustice was one of the principal Causes of the last general War, in which *France* met with the Fate she deserved, and which brought her to the very brink of Ruin.

Notwithstanding this strange Step was taken so early, yet his most Christian Majesty was so heartily sick of Invasions, that for the first six Years of the War he never attempted one, though provoked to it more than he ever had been before, by the Countenance given to his own Subjects, who were in Arms for their Religion in *Cevennes*. After being beaten every  
where,



where, however, both by Sea and by Land, he was at last tempted to think of this, as the only Means by which he could create a Diversion, and revenge himself on the *British* Nation for the Losses their Courage and Conduct had brought upon him. It must be allowed, that when he did come to this Resolution, he made Choice of the properest time for undertaking an Invasion, that offered it self through the whole Reign of *Queen Anne* : A strong Opposition was formed against the Ministry ; the Union had disoblged the unthinking Part of the *Scotch* Nation, and some desperate People in both Countries express'd an Inclination to throw all things into Confusion, in Hopes that the Misfortunes of their Fellow Subjects might be some way or other made to turn to the Advantage of themselves.

Such was the Situation of things in the Spring of the Year 1708, when his most Christian Majesty thought proper to acquaint the late King's *James's* Queen, that he intended to employ part of his Forces by Land and Sea for the Service of her Son, who was then stiled the Chevalier *de St. George*, and who had hitherto been treated with great Indifference by the Court of *France*. The Scene was now changed, he was all of a sudden used with the utmost Respect ;

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his Followers and Dependants, met with Civility and Kindness, instead of being shunned and disregarded as they had been for many Years together. When things were ripe for Execution, he was hurried away to *Dunkirk*, though extremely indisposed, and notwithstanding his Illness proved a dangerous kind of Meazles, yet it was resolved he should go on Board, the Interest of *France* required it, or rather the Will of her Monarch, and that was Reason sufficient for one who depended upon him for his Bread. Yet the Preparations made for this Expedition did not carry any great Appearance of Vigour, especially since the *French* Court very well knew that their Design was blown, and that the Queen of *Great Britain* was upon her Guard.

The Troops assigned for this Invasion were no more than Eleven or Twelve Battalions, under the Command of the Marquis *de Gace*, afterwards stiled the Marshal *de Montignon*. The Fleet consisted but of Eight Men of War, which was commanded by the Count *de Forbin*, who is said to have disliked the Design, because very probably he knew the bottom of it, for it is very certain the *French* never intended to land, and refused the Chevalier to set him ashore, though he would have gone with his own Servants. The true  
Scheme

Scheme of the *French* King was to create a Diversion, and if possible to raise a Rebellion in *Scotland*, that by means of Trials and Executions, the Queen and her Ministry might be sufficiently embarrassed at Home, and have the less leisure to prosecute their Views Abroad ; and from these Motives he order'd his Ministers, in all Foreign Parts, to talk in very magnificent Terms of the Succours he gave to the King of *England*, as he thought fit to call him, that on the Rebound they might make the louder Noise in *Britain*, and induce us to believe our Danger the greater, and more inevitable. Such was the Pomp such the Artifice, with which this hopeful Scheme was carried on, and with such Cobweb Disguises are all *French* Projects covered.

The vigilant General *Cadogan*, who was then in *Flanders*, procured exact Intelligence of the minutest Circumstances of the whole Affair, which he sent over by an Express to Mr. Secretary *Boyle*, who on the fourth of *March*, by the Queen's Order, communicated it to the House of Commons, who the same Day presented a very Loyal Address, as the House of Lords did also upon the same Occasion. All this, however, did not prevent the Nation's being excessively alarmed, which had a dreadful Effect upon Publick Credit, and would have produced still greater

Mischiefs than it did, if the House of Commons, on the twentieth of the same Month, had not come to a very wise and vigorous Resolution, that whoever designedly endeavoured to destroy or lessen the Publick Credit, especially at the time when the Kingdom was threatned with an Invasion, was guilty of an high Crime and Misdemeanour, and was an Enemy to her Majesty and her Kingdom. This, joined to the prudent and indefatigable Care of the Earl of *Godolphin*, then Lord High Treasurer, and the Publick Spirit of the Dukes of *Marlborough*, *Newcastle* and *Somerset*, who sent in great Sums of Money to the *Bank*, put an End to that Confusion, with a view to which this wild Expedition was, in all human probability, principally undertaken.

The Admiralty, in the mean time, exerted themselves with laudable Zeal and Alacrity, and in a few Days fitted out a Fleet of twenty four Men of War, with which Sir *George Byng* and Lord *Berkley* sailed over to the Coast of *France*, and, which must be regarded by Posterity as an unexampled mark of Spirit and Fortitude, they did this without diminishing the Convoy of the *Lisbon* Fleet, and thereby shewed that, in their Opinion, equal care was due to the Trade and to the Safety of the Nation. Orders were  
at



at the same time dispatched to *Scotland*, to secure such of the Nobility there as were suspected of having any Correspondence with, or Affection for the Pretender, and every other Precaution was taken that the Nature of the Danger, and the Necessity of providing against it, made requisite.

As soon as Sir *George Byng* anchored with his Fleet before *Gravelin*, the *French* Officers put a stop to their Embarkation; but upon receiving positive Orders from their Court for that Purpose, were obliged to resume it, and on the sixth of *March* actually sailed out of *Dunkirk*; but being taken short, by contrary Winds, came not to an Anchor till the eighth, and then continued their Voyage for *Scotland*. Sir *George Byng* pursued them with a Fleet of Forty Ships, of the Line, besides Frigats and Fireships. He afterwards detached Rear Admiral *Baker*, with a small Squadron, to Convoy the Troops that were sent from *Ostend*, and prosecuted his Expedition with the rest. On the thirteenth of *March* the *French* were discovered in the *Firth* of *Edinburgh*, where they made Signals, but to no Purpose, and then steered a N. E. Course, as if they had intended to have gone to *St. Andrews*: Sir *George Byng* pursued them, and took the *Salisbury*, an *English* Prize then in their Service,

Service, with several Persons of great Quality on Board; and then, finding it was impossible to come up with the Enemy, he returned with the Fleet to *Leith*, where he continued till he received Advice of Count *Forbin's* getting back to *Dunkirk*, and then proceeded to the *Downs*, pursuant to the Orders he received from the Ministry; from whence he soon after came to *London*, where he was most graciously received by the Queen his Sovereign, and by his Royal Highness Prince *George of Denmark*. Yet, when the Danger was over, a Parliamentary Enquiry was set on Foot against Sir *George Byng* and the Admiralty, which ended in a Compliment to the one, and in an Address of Thanks to the Lord High Admiral on the other.

This was the last open Attempt of *France* to make a Descent on the *British* Dominions; and it was plainly calculated rather to alarm us, than to do any Service to the Person for whose sake it seemed to be designed, at least so it was understood in those Days, and amongst all Parties there were none expressed greater Resentment than the deluded Jacobites, who saw themselves exposed, by this pretended Invasion, to the just Resentments of their Country; and after being betrayed and bubbled into imminent Danger by their  
perfidious

perfidious Friends, were forced to seek for shelter under the Mercy of the Government, which exposed itself to no small Censure from the Lenity exercised towards them. I say nothing of the unfortunate Gentlemen who were taken in the *Salisbury*, and on whom the Sentence of the Law passed, though the Clemency of the Queen abated the edge of its Severity. These surely ought to be Examples, and teach others to beware how they tamper with edge Tools, and force a gracious Prince and gentle Administration to secure their own Safety, and that of the Publick, at the Expence of theirs.

By the Treaty of *Utrecht* *Lewis* XIV. who had deserted *James* II. abandoned his pretended Son, excluded him his Dominions, and solemnly engaged never to Countenance him or his Adherents. Yet, at the very instant he made this Treaty, he had formed new Designs in his Favour, and removed him no further than *Bar le Duc* in the Territories of the Duke of *Lorrain*, which excessively alarmed the *English* Nation, and excited some warm Addresses from the Parliament to the Queen upon so scandalous an Evasion; from thence the Pretender issued a Manifesto, and there, with the Participation of the *French* Schemes were laid for the Execution of his grand Design, of which the

the subsequent Rebellion was only a hasty and desperate Consequence, occasioned by the sudden Death of the Queen. All these Steps plainly demonstrate, that in all Seasons, in Peace as well as in War, the great end of *French* Intrigues is to puzzle and perplex this Nation, to keep alive our Animosities, and allow no Rest to the Government, that we may never have it in our Power to take effectual Measures to reduce that heavy Load of Debts and Taxes, which concern for our own Safety, and the absolute Necessity of preserving the Peace and Independency of *Europe* against the Ambition of *France*, have brought upon us.

Before I take my leave of this Subject, I think it will be proper to put my Readers in mind of a Circumstance which, at this distance of time, may possibly have escaped many of their Memories. The famous *M. de Lamberti* was Minister here from the Duke of *Lorraine*, at the Accession of King *George I.* and as his Majesty shewed no Inclination to have any Correspondence with that Court on account of the Pretender's long Residence in the Duke's Dominions, his Royal Highness thought fit to write his Minister a very strong Letter upon that Occasion, in which, after disavowing many of the Acts of *M. Lamberti*, he throws the whole



whole Blame of his own Conduct on the Court of *France*, professing that all he did was by Compulsion; and alledging, that the Weakness of his Force, and the unlucky Situation of his Dominions, which made him always dependant on, because never secure from the Power of *France*, was the sole Motive that induced him to harbour the Pretender and his Adherents; and that therefore he hoped, from the equitable Disposition of his *Britannic* Majesty, such an Allowance would be made for these involuntary Acts of seeming Disaffection, as to prevent the Coldness, already shewn, from ripening into an irreconcilable Difference between the two Courts.

The Change that happened in the Conduct of the Affairs of *France*, by the unexpected, tho' not sudden, Death of *Lewis XIV.* hindered the Pretender from receiving the Succours he expected, and that, perhaps, were promis'd him, for the Support of his Attempt in *Scotland*; and likewise put a stop to the Insurrections that were to have been raised in *Cornwall*, and other Places in *South-Britain*; for it is certain that the Duke of *Orleans*, then Regent, consulted so far the Situation of *France*, and the Interest of his own Government, as to maintain a fair Correspondence with our Court. But still the old

Maxims, in a great measure, prevailed in the *French* Councils; and whether by the Connivance of the Regent, or because it was absolutely out of his Power to prevent it, so it was, that whatever foreign Assistance the Pretender met with, came from thence. It was from *France* that the Marquis of *Tinmouth*, eldest Son to the Marshal Duke of *Berwick*, a perfect Creature of the Regent's, embark'd for *Scotland*. It was from *France* that Arms, Ammunition, and some small Supplies of Money, were sent to the Rebels in *Scotland*. It was from *France* that the Pretender himself sailed to that Kingdom: And it was to *France* that, when their Designs were disappointed, and their Affairs grew desperate, he and his Adherents returned. At that time, indeed, they had no other Asylum, his Catholick Majesty refusing them any Countenance; though, like a true Son of the House of *Bourbon*, he afterwards chang'd his Measures, and when he thought it agreeable to his Interest, invited the Pretender to *Madrid*, and paid him all the Respect due to a crown'd Head, in manifest Breach of that Treaty by which he acquired the peaceable Possession of, and a just Right to his Dominions.

The Regent acted, for some Years after, as if cordially in our Interest, forced the Pretender to remove from *Avignon*,  
and

and contributed to the Disappointment of the Schemes formed in his favour by the Court of *Spain*; all which were at that time thought to be, in a great measure, owing to the Vigilance, Spirit and Activity of the present Earl of *Stair*, then Minister from hence at the Court of *France*, who was not of a Rank, or of a Disposition to be trifled with, but insisted always upon plain and direct Answers, and on the strict and immediate Execution of all the fair Promises that were made him: But since that time, and especially under the Administration of the late Cardinal *De Fleury*, there were never wanting Numbers of the Pretender's Emisaries at the *French* Court; besides Colonies of his Adherents at *Bologna*, and on the Coasts; and a Resident at *Paris*, as well known, and as much considered as if he had been the avow'd Minister of a foreign Prince. These were not only Acts irreconcilable to the Friendship professed by that Government to this, and direct Breaches of the Treaty subsisting between the two Courts, but likewise contrary to the Behaviour of other Powers. Thus, for Instance, when the Pretender demanded Assistance from the late King of *Denmark*, he sent the Letter, unopened, to his Minister in *England*, who presented it to King *George I.* and the *States-General*

did the same thing by a Letter addressed to them. From a contrary Conduct, it was very evident, that Force and Constraint were the sole Motives that engaged *France* to act agreeable to our Expectations, and that we had no other Title to the Amity of that Court, than what resulted from her immediate Interest, or rather what appeared to be her immediate Interest to the Ministry then subsisting, a Tenure so precarious, that it ought surely never to be much relied on.

As to the present Affair, it is certainly not of a Day's Consideration; by which I mean, that the Scheme of the Invasion has been for some time upon the Anvil at *Rome*, though probably under the Management of the *Spanish* Minister there; for it is observable, that the News of the Pretender's eldest Son's setting out for *France*, came first from that Quarter; which shews, that if *Spain* be the more eager, *France* is the more secret Enemy, and therefore the more to be dreaded. The embarking Bridles, Saddles, Field-Pieces, *Chevaux de Frize*, and Ammunition in small Vessels, all along their Coasts, and then sending the *Brest* Squadron to alarm ours, were indisputable Proofs of their Intentions, and were justly considered as such when represented to the *States-General* by Mr. *Trevor*, in his Memorial



morial dated on the 18th of *February*, 1744. But to put the Matter out of doubt, we need only read the Answer given to Mr. *Thompson* our Minister at *Paris*, as published here by his Majesty's Order, and compare it with the following Account which has been publish'd in *Holland*, from Advices received from *France*.

It is observed in this Account, That Mr. *Thompson* was told, at a Conference, with a very dry Air, that his most Christian Majesty was not a little surprized to hear that his *Britannic* Majesty claimed the Performance of Treaties which did not allow *France* to grant an Asylum to the *Chevalier de St. George*, or any belonging to him, while his Majesty had broke these Treaties in many Instances; particularly, in attacking the *French* Men of War in the open Sea, and in taking and confiscating the Effects of Merchants, Subjects to the Crown of *France*. That the above-mentioned Treaties had been also violated by the *English* making themselves Masters of the Islands of *Hieres*, by the burning of the *Spanish* Gallies in the Port of *St. Tropez*; and that besides, that his *Britannic* Majesty had violated the Treaty of *Hanover*, by causing his Electoral Troops to act against *France*; and that, for all these Reasons, they should consider

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as null, and of none effect, the Representations made by that Minister on the Subject of the Pretender and his Adherents. A more insolent Answer than this, was perhaps never given to a *British* Minister; and the detaining his Messenger, and endeavouring to stop his Dispatches, were still higher Acts of Violence, and seemed to speak a Resolution of no longer keeping any Measures.

We need no other Proofs than these, of the pernicious Views of that haughty, over-bearing Power, for these fully demonstrate, that as she aims at Universal Influence over *Europe*, so the Opposition she has lately met with from Us, has forced her to explain her true Sentiments, and to attempt the Prosecution of her Plan by our particular Destruction. It looks as if, considering us as hitherto the Protectors, she was now resolved that we should likewise be the Victims of *Europe*; and that, as we have taken such vigorous Measures to oppose her Designs, and to prevent her arriving at Universal Monarchy, she intended to offer us up as a Sacrifice to that all-grasping Lust of Dominion which ever has, and probably ever will be, the predominant Passion in the Breast of all the Princes of the *Bourbon* Race. We may from hence see how just, how right, how requisite those Measures were,

were, since, if they have obliged *France* to think of beginning with our Ruin, they plainly shew, that if we had been tame Spectators of her Enterprizes against the rest of our Neighbours, their grand Design must have concluded, not only in theirs, but in our total Destruction; and therefore, in defending them, we have taken the shortest and most effectual course to preserve ourselves.

This Historical Deduction is sufficient, without any further Remarks or Observations, to shew that every Man is bound by Interest, as well as Loyalty, to support the present Royal Family and happy Establishment, upon which the Safety of the Protestant Religion, the Existence of our Constitution, and the Security of our Liberties and Properties, absolutely depend; at the same time that it renders it plain, all this is in our own Power, and that Unanimity will now, as it has often done heretofore, effectually answer this great and desirable End.

F I N I S.